



THE KEYNOTER



1860: A House Dividing

President's Message

Four years ago, I was writing a regular monthly column on the hobby marketplace. Drawing on the experience of many collectors, I wrote a column analyzing the price action in 1972 items during the campaign and in the years following. After watching the excitement and hustle of 1976, a similar comment seems in order this year-end.

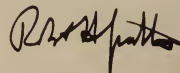
QUADRENNIAL FEVER

Button collectors are infected with a rare illness which at times can reach epidemic proportions. Usually, the critical periods in our malaise coincide with presidential campaign years. Collectors who are otherwise intelligent, sane, perceptive individuals become maniacal demons when confronted with a current campaign item — sometimes only hours or days off the press. In 1972 and again in 1976 supposedly scarce items changed hands for sizeable sums of money or expensive trades. Yet, a year later, hardly any of these items commanded a price even half as much as they had brought in the midst of quadrennial fever. In one case, an auctioneer sold a Carter button for \$68 in one auction, after spirited bidding, only to offer another copy in his next auction and receive no bids whatsoever. That button today sells for 6 dollars. Two other Carter buttons that sold in late 1976 for over \$100 apiece now can be purchased for about \$30 each.

Does this mean there are no scarce items for 1972 or 1976 candidates? No, but it does indicate that it is very difficult to determine, in the heat of a campaign, what will be rare and desirable when the illness wanes as it inevitably does. Also, with current items, the possibility that a bag of 500 will turn up, or that the manufacturer has overruns of the item, is too often ignored — and too often happens. Several dealers in quality current materials tell me that 1980 is primed to be the most expensive campaign in history, for the candidates and the collectors, in part due to the presence of Ted Kennedy. Not only will the 1980 collectors have to compete with other 1980 collectors, but the "Kennedy family" collectors will also join the fray, and they are already accustomed to paying up for scarce Kennedy items.

What to do? There is no known cure for quadrennial fever, but two aspirins and a cold shower may help. As I said at the end of my 1975 column, "A word to the wise is superfluous." Still true.

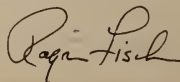
The Officers and Board of Directors of APIC join me in wishing you a Very Happy Holiday Season and a Prosperous New Year.



Editor's Message

Putting together this issue has been a very exciting challenge. Because 1860 was such a crucial election with four serious candidates inspiring a rich variety of campaign items, we decided to expand this *Keynoter* to twenty-eight pages to do the subject justice. We are able to do this now because of several cost-cutting policies which we have already put into practice, and we are pleased to announce that starting with the next issue (Spring 1980), the *Keynoter* will regularly be a 28 page publication.

In the short time since I became editor, I have been pleasantly surprised to learn of the large number of APIC members who really appreciate the *Keynoter*, especially the substantial number of our members who are truly knowledgeable on various aspects of political Americana and willing to share their expertise and items with the rest of us. I could not ask for more co-operation and support. Thank you.



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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Cover: Paper Campaign Poster**In The Next Issue**

The Spring Keynoter will feature the "Free Silver" campaigns of William Jennings Bryan in 1896 and 1900, including many previously unpictured items. Multigate posters will also be featured.

American Armageddon

1860



The 1860 presidential election was unquestionably the most critical in our history. It marked the only time in nearly two centuries that the losers, unable to abide by the verdict of the voters, chose bullets over ballots in departing from the Union and precipitating the orgy of grapeshot and gangrene we call the Civil War. Quite naturally, 1860 is generally studied as a prelude to that national tragedy, a climax to a decade of sectional dissension, or as a milestone in the political odyssey of Abraham Lincoln, the dominant figure of the age. Yet 1860 was an interesting election in its own right, pitting Lincoln against his old nemesis Stephen Douglas and two other serious rivals, John C. Breckinridge and John Bell, in a four-way free-for-all to determine far more than merely who would pick postmasters and customs collectors for the next four years.

The strange phenomenon of four credible candidates, three of them dominant in various sections and the fourth at least a bridesmaid nearly everywhere, developed as the result of a breakdown in our traditional two-party system. The Whig party had been torn apart by sectional division and was replaced north of the Ohio by the Republicans, who in 1860 downplayed their early ideological radicalism and nominated the moderate Lincoln in hopes of sweeping the free states. The Democrats, who had managed to weather the sectional discord throughout the troubled 1850's, finally split in 1860 over the issue of slavery in the territories, with national Democrats supporting Douglas and southern Democrats fielding a ticket headed by John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Unwilling to be absorbed by either Democratic faction or support a Republican party they regarded as inherently hostile to the South, old border state Whigs created the Constitutional Union Party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee as its standardbearer.

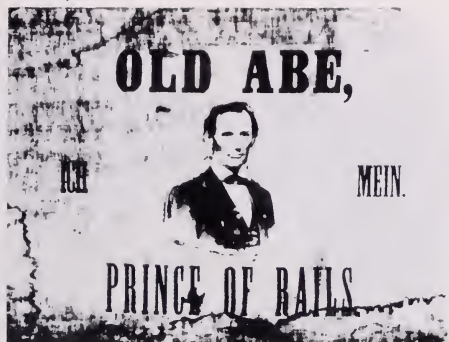
1860 was a less boisterous campaign than 1856 had been. Because the Republicans confined their campaigning to the North while Breckinridge's campaign was largely limited to the South and Bell's Unionists concentrated primarily on the upper South and lower North, much of the potential head-to-head fireworks was eliminated. 1860 also lacked an element of suspense, for given the sorry record of the Buchanan administration and the numerical dominance of the free states in the electoral college,

Lincoln's victory was never really in doubt. Moreover, a somber feeling that Lincoln's victory was likely to create a constitutional crisis dampened spirits to some extent.

It was a lively campaign nonetheless. Of the four contenders, only Douglas took his case straight to the voters, but enthusiasm was generated at the local level by such colorful and exuberant corps of volunteers as Lincoln's "Wide-Awakes," Bell's "Bell Ringers," Douglas's "Little Giants," and Breckinridge's "National Democratic Volunteers." 1860 was the year that the political torchlight parade developed into a hallowed national institution, drawing millions of Americans young and old to witness the gaudy visuals and fireworks and cheer the nominees.

On election day Lincoln was able to parlay only forty percent of the popular vote into 180 electoral votes and the presidency, attracting virtually no support south of the Ohio but winning every free state above it. Douglas ran second nearly everywhere, but won only Missouri. Breckinridge carried eleven southern states with 72 electoral votes, with the 39 electoral votes of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee going to Bell. Within weeks South Carolina would leave the Union and our rendezvous with the "terrible swift sword" would reach the point of no return.

Except for determining a winner and three losers, 1860 was, as Allan Nevins has written, "a very curious, very mixed, very inscrutable election." A majority of voters in states with a majority of the electoral votes went for Lincoln, who thus would have become president even if his three adversaries had consolidated their support against him. Whether or not the "Prince of Rails" could have beaten Douglas one-on-one if the "Little Giant" had united Democratic support, however, is questionable. In any event, Lincoln's forty percent, almost none of it coming from the fifteen southern states, was a bittersweet mandate at best. Although eleven of those states would subsequently secede from the Union, the southern rights apostle Breckinridge received a much smaller vote in the future Confederacy than the combined total of his two Union-at-any-price rivals Douglas and Bell. Unlike other key elections that have changed the course of American history, 1860 set in motion great consequences without a clear mandate from the people who would bear their burden.



Parade Illumination

No other American president or major political figure (with the possible exception of George Washington) has ever enjoyed an image more unlike the "typical politician" than Abraham Lincoln—"Old Honest Abe," the humble, unsophisticated, almost vulnerable frontiersman incapable of demagoguery or deception, who rose from obscurity to guide the nation through its darkest hour "with malice toward none, with charity for all." In truth, of course, he was perhaps the toughest and shrewdest man who ever occupied the White House, one who "moved men remotely, as we do pieces on a chess board," as an old friend from Chicago recalled him. Before 1860 the man who would be remembered as a rustic railsplitter had already become a successful corporation attorney and a political figure of national prominence. Yet despite its absurdity, the Lincoln legend is nearly as fascinating as Lincoln the man. Though it owes much of its evolution as part of our folk tradition to his tragic and untimely death in 1865, it all began as a shrewd, calculated effort to market Lincoln as a political commodity in 1860.

During the winter of 1859-1860, when Lincoln and his advisors began to weigh the possibility of a presidential bid, his assets did not appear overwhelming. He was respected by party professionals for nearly wresting a Senate seat away from Stephen Douglas in 1858 and for his reputation as a moderate on the slavery question, but he seemed to lack qualities which would endear him among the voters. He was an uncommonly homely man with a high-pitched, squeaky voice. Apart from 1858, a single term in Congress during the 1840s was his only claim to immortality as a national statesman. He had participated in a marginal way in the Black Hawk War, but no one of sound mind would consider him a military hero. His log cabin birth was a virtue, to be sure, but the log cabin had been milked for all its worth as a symbol by William Henry Harrison in 1840. In short, Lincoln seemed singularly unlikely to develop into a popular folk hero.

The Selling of "Old Honest Abe"

by

Roger Fischer

The nickname "Old Honest Abe," often just "Old Abe" or "Honest Abe," evolved first. Its precise origins are unknown, but it may date back to 1858 or before. In any event, Illinois Republican newspapers friendly to his candidacy were referring to Lincoln as "Old Honest Abe" with some regularity by February, 1860. Given the track record enjoyed by political figures known by the people as "Old Hickory," "Old Tippecanoe," and "Old Rough and Ready," a nickname with a folksy ring to it was undoubtedly a promising beginning.

The real breakthrough, however, was the inspiration of Richard Oglesby, an old personal and political

LINCOLN CLUB.

LINCOLN, HAMLIN AND CURTIN!

A MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY WILL BE HELD
AT SCHOEN-ECK,
 On Saturday Evening, June 30, 1860,
 To Form a Lincoln, Hamlin and Curtin Club, where all in favor of
FREE LABOR,
FREE TERRITORIES, FREE HOMES,
PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

Col. HUGH LINDSAY, of Old Berks in English and German and by others
TURN OUT!

The ball is in motion—keep in rolling and it will roll on through every corner of the land.

Poster

friend of Lincoln from Decatur, host city for the 1860 Republican state convention. Aware that his friend desperately needed some gimmick to enhance his popular appeal, some symbol of his rise from humble origins through honest toil, Oglesby knew he had found it when old John Hanks told him that Lincoln had helped him split rails west of Decatur thirty years before. Oglesby and Hanks rode out to take two of the rails identified by Hanks as ones the pair had split, hauled them into town, and hid them in Oglesby's barn. There they lay until May 8, when they were carried into the state convention by Hanks and another grizzled pioneer, bedecked with a banner proclaiming Lincoln "The Rail Candidate for President in 1860." The delegates went wild. Lincoln was reluctant to claim the rails as his handiwork (perhaps wisely, for it later came out that the original rails had been burned and replaced with new ones), but joked that he had surely made better ones! That day in Decatur, Lincoln was politically reborn as the

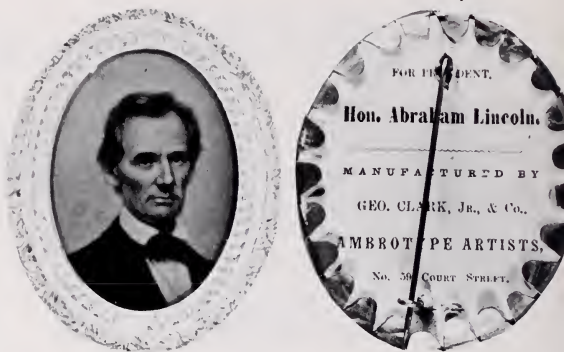


Campaign Battle Flag

"railsplitter;" ten days later, in a convention hall in Chicago with split rails on display in every nook and cranny, he became the Republican nominee for the presidency.

Lincoln was nominated because his low profile on the slavery issue, his lack of enemies, and his apparent strength in the lower North made him an almost certain winner against a divided Democratic party, not because he had once split rails. Nonetheless, the rail-splitter image must have been seen as a real asset by veterans of the debacle of 1856, when Republicans had practically guaranteed defeat by ignoring John C. Fremont's potential popularity as "the Pathfinder" and waging their campaign exclusively on a militant "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Men, Free Kansas" ideology. It was a mistake they would not repeat. In 1860 they would downplay as much as possible divisive issues, especially slavery, while basing their campaign on the politics of personality, symbolism, and paramilitary pageantry.

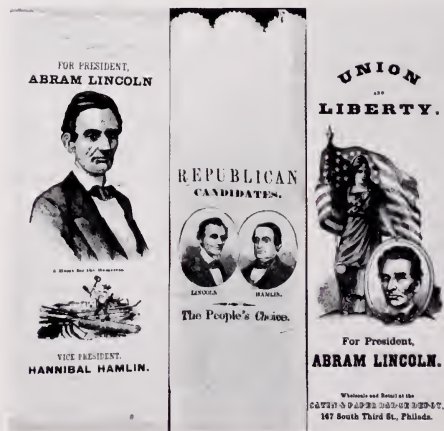
A good indication of this strategy can be derived from the physical remains of 1860 we have preserved in public and private collections. As Herb Collins has



Ambrotype: Obverse and Reverse



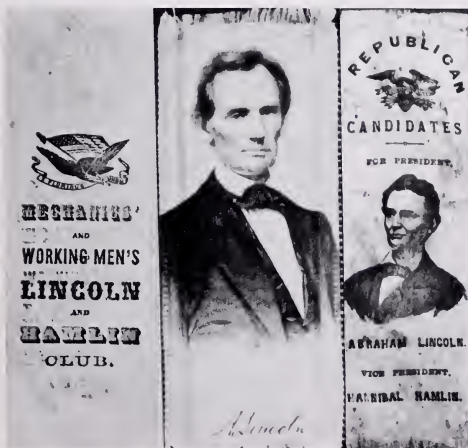
Ferrotypes Actual Size



Ribbons 40% Actual Size



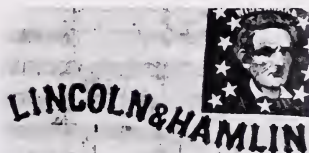
Above Items Actual Size



Ribbons Shown Half Actual Size

pointed out in his excellent article on Lincoln torchlight parades in this issue, the rail-splitter motif was played up during these events in many ways, with rails, wooden axes, transparencies proclaiming Lincoln the "PRINCE OF RAILS," the "zig-zag" step executed by the Wide-Awakes to imitate a rail fence, and more. Transparencies glowed their support for "OLD ABE" or "HONEST OLD ABE." A log cabin float bearing the legend "UNCLE SAM HAS LAND ENOUGH TO GIVE US EACH A FARM" carried through the streets of New York during the October 3, 1860, extravaganza staged by the Wide-Awakes was meant to demonstrate both Lincoln's humble origins and the Republican commitment to a homestead law.

Parade objects were not the only 1860 Lincoln campaign items to emphasize the politics of symbolism and personality. Ribbons played up Lincoln's identity as "HONEST OLD ABE" or "HONEST ABE." Few ribbons were ideological in any sense, but those that were issue-oriented were as likely to read "FREE HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE" or "PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY" as "LINCOLN AND LIBERTY" or "UNION AND LIBERTY." Sheet music like "Honest Abe of the West" (to



Wide-Awake Flag

the tune of the "Star-Spangled Banner") saw wide distribution. Stationery and envelopes were printed and sold with Lincoln's portrait framed by a split-rail fence. Thirteen of the seventy-six 1860 Lincoln tokens listed in DeWitt's *A Century of Campaign Buttons* employed the rail-splitter motif. Several of these carried scenes of a man swinging an axe with such mottoes as "THE RAILSPLITTER OF 1830," while others used rails or rail fences as designs. One token (AL 1860-33) proclaimed Lincoln "THE MAN WHO CAN SPLIT RAILS OR GUIDE THE SHIP OF STATE." Other tokens proclaimed Lincoln "HONEST ABE OF THE WEST," one of them (AL 1860-73) also describing him as "THE HANNIBAL OF AMERICA."

The Lincoln campaign did not succeed in ignoring the sectional question altogether, which would have been impossible in such a tense setting with so many anti-slavery idealists in its ranks, but to a remarkable extent the personal and symbolic elements dominated the campaign. Not since 1840 had a symbol played such a central role in a presidential election as the split rail would do in 1860. All in all, it was a feat worthy of Lincoln's illustrious contemporary, P. T. Barnum.

HUZZAH! HUZZAH!

Lincoln Torchlight Parades

by Herb Collins

Few spectacles in all our history can compare with the 19th-century political torchlight parade. Campaign parades date back at least as far as 1840, when Harrison supporters rolled log cabin floats through the streets and then used them as refreshment stands to dispense hard cider to the thirsty marchers and spectators. Torchlight parades also originated before 1860, but Lincoln's campaign was the first in which they were carried out on a scale and in a style that would have done credit to a Cecil B. DeMille.

Most 1860 Lincoln torchlight parades featured local units of Lincoln's colorful volunteer corps, the "Wide-Awakes." This organization was born in Hartford, Connecticut, in February, 1860, when a group of paraders wore similar oilskin caps and capes to protect their clothing from the dripping oil from their torches. Within a week about fifty of the marchers had banded together and dedicated a lodge as their

headquarters. Within a few months, Wide-Awake chapters existed throughout the North, with an enrollment of over 400,000. Their unique outfits (illustrated on the cover of the "Wide Awake Quick Step" march and on both sides of a familiar Lincoln token) reportedly cost each Wide-Awake \$3, although the Fort Wayne *Daily Times* printed an ad on September 21, 1860, offering the Wide-Awake cap, cape, torch, and flag at a reduced price of \$1.15. The Wide-Awakes performed many campaign duties, but they were best known for marching, often in a special "zigzag" step meant to resemble a rail fence, to "The Wide Awake Quick Step" and other marching music.

The origin of the name "Wide-Awake" is not altogether clear. Although it is usually associated with Lincoln's 1860 campaign and seems to have received its first widespread use then, there is a Henry Clay banner (probably from 1844) in the Smithsonian col-



Grand Procession of Wide-Awakes at New York — Oct. 3, 1860



Hartford Wide-Awakes.
Organized 1860.



Typical Wide-Awake Torches

lection bearing the legend, "Fear Not For Our Cause/The Fair Are In Motion/We're All Wide Awake/On The Green Hills of Goshen."

The "Wide-Awakes" marched in parades in nearly every city and town from Maine to Minnesota. In Lincoln's Springfield they performed in a torchlight parade witnessed by delegations from throughout the Northwest that, according to Allan Nevins, enlivened "the little Illinois capital as never in its history." But the most spectacular of all Wide-Awake torchlight parades was held in New York in October, 1860, inspiring this report in *Harper's Weekly*:

Thousands of torches flashing in high, narrow streets, crowded with eager people, and upon house-fronts in which every window swarms with human faces; with the mingling music of scores of military bands, and the rippling, running, sweeping, and surging sounds of huzzas from tens of thousands, but generally a silence like the quiet flow of a vast river; with the waving of banners and moving transparencies of endless device; and through all, out of all, and over all, the splendor of exploding fire-works, of every color — these combined, at night, are an imposing spectacle; and these everyone in the city saw at the Wide-Awake festival on Wednesday night.

It was certainly the nearest approach to a purely poetic popular demonstration that we have had . . . Even the bitterest political opponents of the party to which the organization belongs could not but confess how beautiful the scene was.

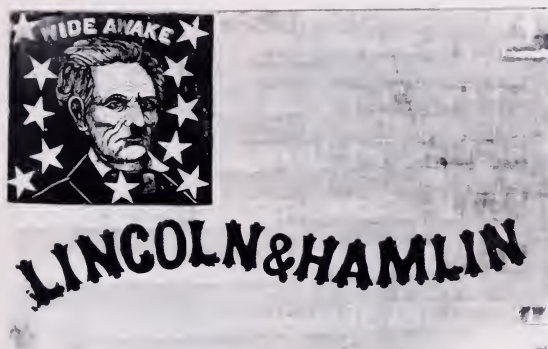
Standing at midnight in Broadway, near the corner of Tenth Street, and looking up toward Union Place, you saw the entire street sheeted with flickering light, and Union Place bright with showers of fireworks; while down town, as far as the New York Hotel, and beyond, there was the same blazing torrent of life and enthusiasm, from which, in profuse and incessant explosion, burst the Roman Candles of every celestial hue.

These gala parades created a large number of physical artifacts, many of which have been saved and exist today in public and private collections. In keep-

ing with the rail-splitter theme so popular during the campaign, split rails were often borne by the marchers. The Massachusetts State Historical Society has two such rails, one of them allegedly split by Lincoln himself for use in the family homestead. Another such rail is owned by the Illinois State Historical Society. Wooden axes were also carried in parades. Examples of these can be found in Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C., and in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution, the Seneca Falls (New York) Historical Society, and in the J. Doyle DeWitt Collection in Hartford, Connecticut. These Lincoln parade axes are not to be confused with wooden battle axes produced in 1884 as part of the plumed knight regalia that James G. Blaine's candidacy inspired. The Lincoln axes often bore such slogans as "RAIL SPLITTER" or "OLD ABE." A rather wordy one in the Smithsonian Collection reads "FEAR NOT OLD ABE IS OUR ? /GOOD TIMES COMING SOON BOYS."

Among the more colorful Lincoln parade items were the transparencies carried on poles through the streets. These were often Wide-Awake productions featuring their symbol, the open eye. Other transparencies include a triangular one in the collection of the Smithsonian which proclaims Lincoln the "PRINCE OF RAILS."





Parade Flag



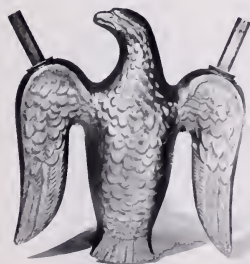
Parade Axe

The Lincoln parades produced some outstanding marching banners, many of which can be found today in such collections as the Smithsonian, the DeWitt, the Detroit Historical Society, the Museum of the American China Trade in Milton, Massachusetts, the Dartmouth College Archives, and the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Many of these were borne by Wide-Awake units, such as the "eyeball" banners of the Lisbon Wide-Awakes at Dartmouth and the "Liberty Ward 12" unit owned by the American China Trade Museum and the Wide-Awake flag banner in the Warren Lincoln Library and Museum.

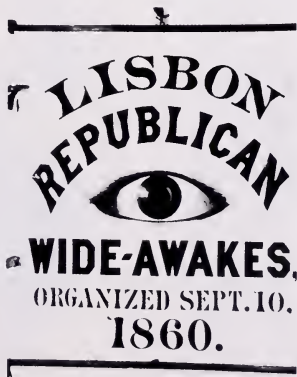
1860 parade torches were made in many varieties. Crude homemade torches made of tin and fitted with a gas pipe wick tube said to have been used in an 1860 torchlight procession were acquired from the Heitmuller family of Washington by the Smithsonian in 1915 and 1959. L. T. Pitkin of Hartford supplied local Wide-Awakes with a double-swing tin kerosene

torch that soon became known as the "Wide-Awake torch." Some 1860 torches were more creative. A torch shaped like a rifle was used, as was one in the shape of an eagle that is now in the Smithsonian collection, as is one painted "HURRAH FOR LINCOLN." A three-burner torch in the Smithsonian collection was used on the speakers' platform.

These items all helped give the 1860 campaign a dramatic flavor that would not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed or marched in parades that year. Torchlight parades would have been foolish had they not been so spectacular, for they were enormously expensive to stage. Torches, fireworks, banners, uniforms, flags, posters, transparencies, and floats created huge expenses for the political organizations required, or "persuaded," to pay the bills. One estimate of the cost of a single presidential campaign during this era was nearly thirty million dollars for all parties at all levels.



Eagle Torch



Club Parade Banner



Platform Torch

Popular Sovereignty

Stephen A. Douglas and the Union

by Roger Fischer

Like Iago, Joe Frazier, and the Sheriff of Nottingham, Stephen Arnold Douglas is best remembered for his battles with a more famous adversary, his epic 1858 and 1860 races against Abraham Lincoln. This is unfortunate, for the "Little Giant" was a remarkable man in his own right, probably the dominant political figure of the 1850's and just possibly the most significant Democrat during that long stretch between Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson. As different as this tiny, dapper extrovert with a voice like rolling thunder was from Lincoln in so many ways, the two men were strikingly similar in other respects. Both came from humble origins to become successful self-taught lawyers and leaders of their parties on the prairies of their adopted Illinois; both were uncommonly ambitious men with political instincts of the first magnitude. Both shared an almost religious devotion to the Union above all other considerations. Their last battle in 1860 gave the victorious Lincoln an opportunity to do his part in preserving the Union through four long years of civil war; it gave the defeated Douglas a chance to prove that he was a patriot in the finest sense of the term.

For the "Little Giant," who would die at forty-eight less than six months after the election, 1860 was the "last hurrah" in a remarkable career. Born in 1813 in Brandon, Vermont, and brought up on an uncle's hardscrabble farm near there, Douglas went west to Jacksonville, Illinois (30 miles from Lincoln's Springfield) in 1833 to practice law and become politically active. A year later he became a state's attorney, then a state legislator, and then in 1840, at twenty-seven, the youngest justice ever to sit on the Illinois Supreme Court. In 1842 he was elected to Congress, serving in the House from 1843 to 1847 and then in the Senate until he died. An avid disciple of "Manifest Destiny," our national mission to expand westward to the Pacific, Douglas soon became leader of the "Young America" wing of the Democratic party and, as chairman of the key Senate Committee on the Territories, the foremost authority on territorial issues in the Congress.

Douglas was uniquely amoral on the slavery controversy, viewing it only as a bothersome barrier to westward expansion. A Yankee whose two wives both came from slaveholding families, he did once decline a "dowry" of a Mississippi plantation with slaves but regarded abolitionists as dangerous and laws against slavery in the territories ridiculous (along with

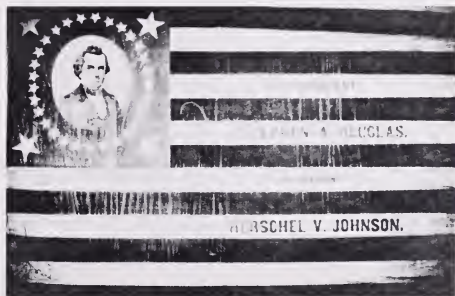


All Items Actual Size



All Items Actual Size

Webster he felt that nature had already “abolished” it there). After narrowly heading off the divisive Wilmot Proviso in 1847, Douglas developed the doctrine of “popular sovereignty” to leave the fate of slavery in a territory to its settlers, removing the issue from the arena of national politics. This worked well in the Compromise of 1850, which he helped write and guide through the Senate, but when he applied it to his Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 an ugly war erupted in Kansas between free-soil and southern settlers that probably cost the “Little Giant” the Democratic nomination (and the presidency) in 1856. By then a majority of northerners believed that slavery was a moral evil not to be compromised through the political system. A year later the Supreme Court ruled that Congress could not lawfully prohibit slavery in a territory, causing southerners to abandon popular



Campaign Flag

sovereignty as well. While the sections drifted toward moral absolutes, Douglas held firm to a logical solution in an emotional age, defending popular sovereignty against Lincoln in their 1858 debates and against Buchanan’s heavy-handed attempt to impose a patently pro-slavery constitution on Kansas, then making it the cornerstone of his presidential campaign in 1860.

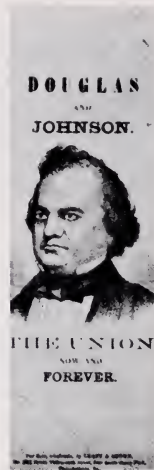
When the Democrats gathered in Charleston in April, Douglas had too much support from northern delegates to be denied again, but the refusal of his forces to accept a pro-slavery platform led to a walkout by southern “ultras” that denied him the two thirds he needed for nomination. In June they met again in Baltimore. The “Little Giant” finally became the Democratic presidential nominee, but the price was prohibitive — the southerners quickly put together their own Breckinridge-Lane slate, the party lay in ruins, and Abraham Lincoln’s victory was virtually assured.

The Douglas campaign made up in spirit what it lacked in hope. Unlike the other three campaigns, Douglas vied for votes in every corner of the nation. Such volunteer corps as the “Little Dougs,” “Little

Giants," and "Chloroformers" (a Brooklyn group named for its boast to "put the Wide-Awakes to sleep") staged parades and rallies. The main attraction, however, was Douglas himself. Ignoring his own failing health and the tradition that candidates remain "above the battle," Douglas became the first American presidential nominee ever to take his case straight to the people with a public speaking tour. Unlike Lincoln, who apparently felt that secession was an empty threat until too late, the "Little Giant" knew that the stakes were the Union itself in 1860. As the campaign wore on, his speeches began to ignore his three opponents and attack instead those who would wreck the Union for selfish purposes. When told that Breckinridge supporters hoped to create an electoral deadlock and have the House of Representatives pick a president friendly to their interests, Douglas threatened to "throw it to Lincoln" before he would let them profit for preaching treason.

By late summer, aware that he trailed Lincoln badly in the North, this ambitious man whose lifelong ambition had been the presidency ceased to be a politician and became instead a patriot. Invading Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina in August, states he had no chance of winning, he warned a crowd in Norfolk he wanted none but Union votes, in Baltimore said, "I am for burying Southern disunionism and Northern abolitionism in the same grave," and told a crowd in Raleigh, "I would hang every man higher than Haman who would attempt to resist by force any provision of the Constitution which our fathers made and bequeathed to us." He returned to the Midwest, but when news reached him in Iowa that the Republicans had won Pennsylvania in early October, he told his secretary, "Lincoln is the next President. We must try to save the Union. I will go South."

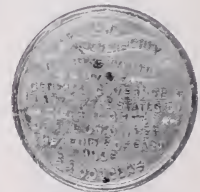
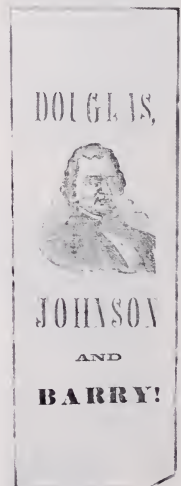
This last trip into the Cotton Kingdom was, as Allan Nevins has written, Douglas' "finest hour." For no possible personal or political gain, he was risking his safety and his fragile health, already precarious from four months of hectic campaigning. Although his swing through Dixie brought a pelting with eggs and fruit in Montgomery, Alabama, and a number of threats on his life, Douglas drew large and often friendly crowds in this region long appreciative of personal courage, if not ideological dissent. To the cities and small towns of Tennessee, Georgia, and then Alabama, the "Little Giant" brought his plea for Union. Election eve brought him to Montgomery, Selma, and then Mobile, where he spent election day awaiting the verdict. When news came that the voters had chosen his fellow Illinoisan, whom he had referred to throughout the campaign as "an able and honest man," Douglas appeared untroubled; but when he heard from his Alabama friends that they thought secession was now inevitable, he walked back to his hotel, according to his secretary, "more



hopeless than I had ever before seen him."



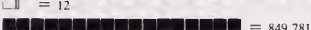

Douglas returned to Washington to help create a compromise on slavery in the territories to hold the Union together, but one plan after another was rejected by the southern "ultras" or the northern Republicans. He pledged his full support to the incoming president, which he demonstrated by holding Lincoln's hat during the inaugural ceremony as a gesture of unity. After Fort Sumter Douglas began a speaking tour of the Midwest to build bipartisan support for Lincoln's effort to put down the rebellion, but fell ill in Chicago and died there on June 3, 1861.

Ribbons shown 1/2 size



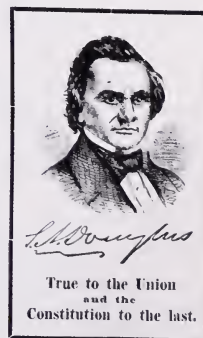
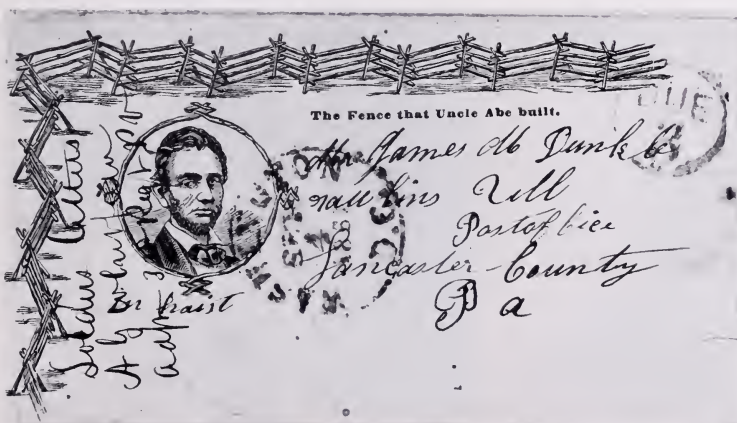
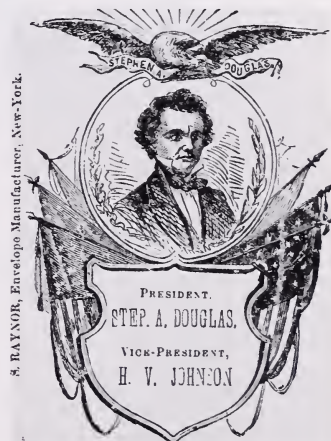
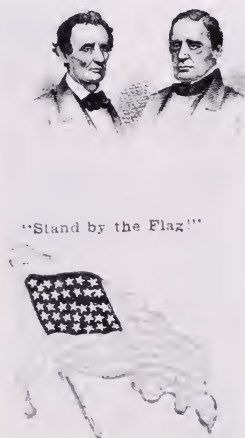
Reverse: "Popular Sovereignty — non-intervention by the general government of any of the states or territories of the union. Let the people of each rule. S. A. Douglas"

The Election of 1860

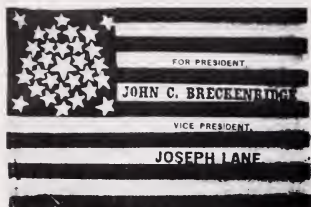
Lincoln/Hamlin		= 1,866,452
Douglas/Johnson		= 1,376,957
Breckinridge/Lane		= 849,781
Bell/Everett		= 588,879

Popular Votes ■ = 50,000
Electoral Votes □ = 10

Envelope Cachets from the 1860 Campaign



½ Size



"No Submission to the North"

John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky

Born in 1821 near Lexington, Kentucky, into an old bluegrass planting and political family (his grandfather had been attorney general under Jefferson), Breckinridge was educated at Centre College and Transylvania University, served as a major during the Mexican War, returned home to practice law, then in 1850 was elected to Henry Clay's old seat in Congress as a Democrat. His elegant gentility and ability to balance pro-slavery sympathies with a strong Unionist outlook led to his selection, at the tender age of thirty-five, as James Buchanan's running mate in 1856. As "Old Buck's" vice president from 1857 to 1861, he was the youngest man to ever occupy that office.

Often mentioned as a leading southern contender for the Democratic nomination in 1860, Breckinridge was passed over for Douglas, but was subsequently picked as the presidential nominee of the southern Democrats unwilling to support the "Little Giant." The avidly pro-slavery Joseph Lane of Oregon was chosen as his running mate, to balance the ticket regionally if not ideologically, and a stridently pro-slavery platform was adopted which demanded federal protection of slavery in the territories and the annexation of Cuba as a potential slave state.

Why Breckinridge agreed to head such an "ultra" ticket remains a mystery. Having entered Congress as a proponent of the Compromise of 1850 and then becoming a strong supporter of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its "popular sovereignty" doctrine, his record on sectional issues virtually duplicated that of his 1860 adversary Douglas. His motive was not personal ambition, for he really wanted to return to Kentucky and his law practice. Many historians believe that he ran in 1860 to help avert disunion, both by co-opting the southern rights movement and by possibly helping to create an electoral deadlock that could be resolved by the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

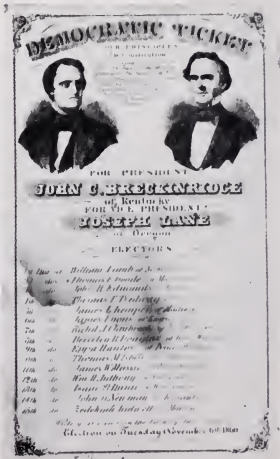
Whatever his secret motives, Breckinridge unfortunately became the captive nominee of a militant campaign in which "his supporters were breathing secession with every speech" unless the North gave in completely on the slavery question. While Breckinridge protested his devotion to the Union and gradually withdrew from all campaign statements, his partisans played to the emotions of the southern



Ferrotypes Actual Size



Silk Ribbons
½ Actual Size



Voting Ticket

voters (virtually no Breckinridge-Lane activity was carried on in the North) with pro-slavery oratory and the activities of the "National Democratic Volunteers." The truculent tenor of their campaign may be judged by such items as tokens that read "NO SUBMISSION TO THE NORTH."

Breckinridge ran nearly as well in the South as Lincoln did in the North. He lost Missouri to Douglas and Virginia, Tennessee, and his own Kentucky to Bell, but carried the other eleven slave states, winning 72 electoral votes and 850,000 popular votes. Despite his refusal to urge secession and the failure of his vote total to equal the combined vote cast for the moderates Douglas and Bell in the South, the success of this strident "no submission to the North" campaign was a grim omen of things to come.

After the election Breckinridge continued to plead for sectional compromise, but Lincoln's decision to defend Fort Sumter led him to enlist in the Confederate Army as a brigadier general after an unsuccessful effort to lead Kentucky out of the Union. He saw action in such epic battles as Cold Harbor and Chickamauga, served briefly in the Confederate Cabinet as secretary of war during the last months of the Civil War, then fled to Europe after Appomattox. He returned to Kentucky after three years in exile, and died there in 1875.



J.C. BRECKINRIDGE.

Overprints

FOR PRESIDENT,
JOHN BELL,
OF TENNESSEE.



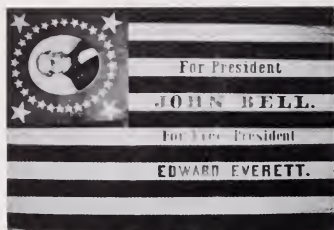
JOHN BELL.

During the heat of battle in the 1860 campaign, a number of items appeared with the word "Patriot" or "Traitor" printed in red over what would otherwise have been an ordinary campaign item. The two items pictured are paperboard posters that could easily have been used by Bell and Breckinridge were they not overprinted. The "Traitor" overprints seem motivated mainly by geography, as there are many cachet envelopes from the 1860 campaign with overprints, including one picturing Bell and Everett where Everett is overprinted "Patriot" while Bell is labeled "Traitor." (See page 19)

FOR PRESIDENT,
JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,
OF KENTUCKY.



JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE



“The Constitution and the Union”

John Bell of Tennessee

Born near Nashville, Tennessee, in 1797, John Bell grew up on a pioneer farm, attended Cumberland College, became a lawyer, then in 1826 defeated Jackson's protégé Felix Grundy for a seat in Congress. He served seven terms, including a brief stint as Speaker of the House in 1834-1835, switching from the Democratic party to the Whigs in 1835 as a result of his continuing quarrel with "Old Hickory." Following a brief tenure as Secretary of War under Harrison, he retired from politics for six years, then served two terms in the Senate from 1847 to 1859.

Although a southerner and a slaveholder, Bell was a Unionist first and last, often setting aside regional interests for national unity. As a senator he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill and then the admission of Kansas under the patently provocative Lecompton Constitution. He loved the Whig party only slightly less than the Union itself, once calling his membership in the organization "the proudest circumstance" of his career. When it fell apart after 1852, Bell proudly remained a Whig. In 1860, viewing with alarm the threats to the Union posed by the new and openly sectional Republicans on one hand and the divided Democrats on the other, Bell and many other old Whigs met to reorganize as the Constitutional Union party and put forth a ticket to help perpetuate the Union through sectional compromise. Bell was given its presidential nomination over Sam Houston on the second ballot, with Edward Everett of Massachusetts selected as his running mate. They not only declined to enact a platform, they condemned the very practice as divisive!

Neither man campaigned personally, but many volunteer groups — the "Bell Ringers," who wore uniforms similar to the Wide-Awakes' and clanged large cowbells as they marched, the "Union Sentinels," and the "Minute Men" — performed strenuously on their behalf. The Unionists campaigned up North against the threat to the Union posed by Lincoln's Republicans and down South against the truculent jingoism of the Breckinridge-Lane forces. They almost always refrained from attacking Douglas, and even tried to weld together a coalition with the "Little Giant" in some states. Their campaign was probably doomed by its moderation and failure to



All Items Actual Size



Actual Size

take a moral position on slavery in an era when most Americans had come to see the institution as either accursed or divinely blessed. In the South they failed to match the enthusiasm engendered by the hard-line Breckinridge campaign and up North they never really developed into a serious factor. Their silence on the issues made them vulnerable to satire, such as this assessment by the Morristown *Jerseyman*:

The Lincoln party is in favor of voting slavery down in the Territories; the Breckinridge party is in favor of voting it up; the Douglas party don't care whether it is voted up or down; and the Bell-Everett party don't know anything about nothing."

Only in the border states, where slavery was weak, nationalism was strong, and the fear that the

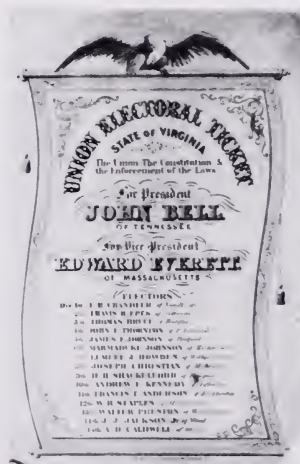


Anti-Bell Cachet Overprint

border area would become a battleground between warring sections was rampant, did Bell run strong. On election day he garnered nearly 590,000 votes, winning the 39 electoral votes of Virginia, Kentucky, and his own Tennessee. He ran well in old pockets of Whig support in the cotton states, but not well enough to avert the Breckinridge sweep there. In the North the Unionists developed little support, losing the bulk of the old Whig vote to Lincoln. Like the other two losing candidates in 1860, Bell argued against secession, but when Tennessee voted to leave the Union he retired from public life to spend the war years in Georgia. He eventually returned to Nashville and died there, "the last Whig left," in 1869.



Ribbons Shown 1/2 Actual Size



Voting Ticket

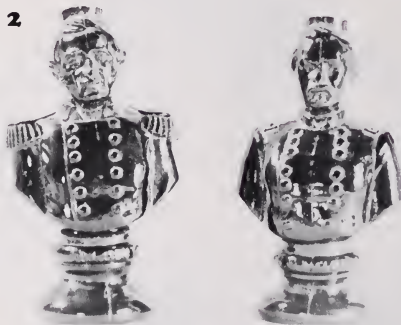
Political Figural Bottles

By Ed Sullivan

Among the more interesting examples of political campaign and commemorative glassware are the delightful character or figural bottles that were produced in limited quantities during the latter part of the nineteenth century. A few figurals have also appeared in this century, as recently, in fact, as 1968.

Authorities on American historical bottles believe that figural bottles, in a variety of subjects, contained either cologne or bitters (technically, "proprietary medicine"). Such bottles have been popular with glasshouses and consumers throughout most of our history. The existence of hundreds of modern figurals, especially the garish Avon and Jim Beam bottles, attests to their popularity among collectors.

Nineteenth-century political figurals are appealing and often scarce examples of the art of glassmaking. The bottles were formed in molds, and in the case of portrait busts are likely to have rather thin surfaces because of the need for the molten glass to flow into



every crevice in a mold. Since small quantities were made and many of those were broken in use, political figurals in mint condition, free from chips or cracks, seldom appear on the market.

Figural bottles with political subjects fall into three categories — portrait busts, animals, and inanimate objects. Two types of portrait bottles exist, those with openings at the top and glass pedestal bases that form part of the design and those with openings at the bottom and no pedestals. The latter type apparently came from the glasshouses mounted on round, detachable wooden plinths. Both types have cork closures. Animal figural bottles are, of course, elephants and donkeys. Inanimate objects comprise the largest variety of political figurals. I know of such examples as a log cabin cologne bottle, a full dinner pail figural, and others in the shapes of cider barrels and cigars.

Pedestal bust bottles depicting Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison were produced during the 1888 campaign. These bottles stand about 10" tall and have appeared both with frosted and unfrosted surfaces. In my opinion, the frosted Cleveland bottle (pictured #1) is the most attractive political artifact I have ever seen. It is possible that pedestal busts of the 1888 vice presidential nominees Levi Morton and Allen Thurmand also were made, but I have seen neither. Other pedestal bust figurals were also undoubtedly produced for presidential candidates, as I recall seeing a small McKinley figural some years ago. Extremely rare jet black figurals 6" tall were made portraying Winfield Scott and George McClellan (#2), but they were probably produced in 1862 or 1863 during

3



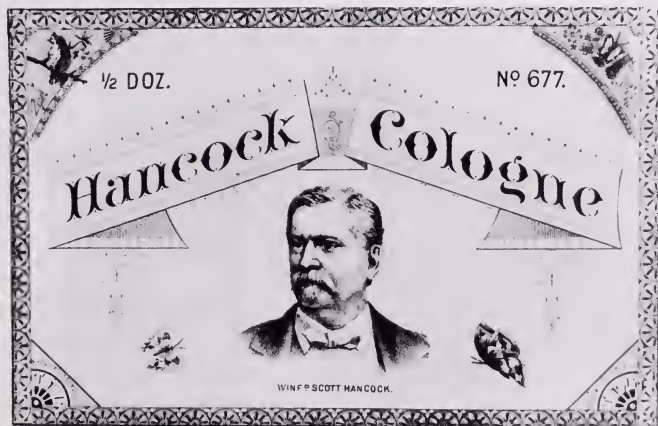
the Civil War, not for their presidential bids. It is possible that such other Civil War notables as Grant or Lincoln were also featured on similar bottles, but I have not seen them.

George Washington is the subject of many figurals, notably a pedestal bust type issued during the

1876 centennial (#3) and a standing figure variety that was distributed during the 200th anniversary of his birth in 1932. The Washington pedestal was made both in clear and aqua glass and stands just over 9" tall. This figural has been reproduced at least twice, once in a deep blue glass imitation 4" tall done about 1940 and once actual size with letters around the base that are vaguely defined. The lettering on the original, "SIMON'S CENTENNIAL BITTERS/TRADE MARK," is sharply defined. The standing Washington figural was made in clear glass 9½" high and, so far as I know, has not been reproduced.

Bust bottles with bottom openings are not quite as fragile as the pedestal types, but they are just as difficult to find. The only examples that I have seen portray James Garfield and Winfield Scott Hancock (#4) in clear glass. They stand 7" and were issued with semi-circular paper labels pasted just below the necks, identifying each candidate as "Gen. Garfield" or "Gen. Hancock." Pictured with the Hancock figural is a box label indicating that these bottles contained cologne. Perhaps other nominees before or after 1880 were featured on such bottles as well.

Despite their ubiquity as party symbols, elephant and donkey figurals are known only in a few designs. Two amber elephant varieties made during the 1880s (probably 1888) are the earliest political animal figurals I know of. As illustrated, one stands 8½" and has a shaped head with embossed body design around the bottle's lower surface (#5); the other measures 5½" by 5½" (plus the neck) and portrays an elephant in low relief (#6). Both types occasionally appear on the market. The only donkey figural that I know of was issued in several colors by the Wheaton Company for the 1968 campaign (#7). A medallion profile of Hubert Humphrey is shown on one side, while running mate Edmund Muskie is similarly featured on the other side. An elephant-shaped mate portraying Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew was also



4



5



6



7



issued. Both of these figurals measure about 6" by 6" and are quite heavy. They are easily obtained.

Political figurals of inanimate objects are perhaps the most appealing of the three types. The earliest example I know of is a perfume or cologne bottle shaped like a log cabin (#8). 3½" by 2½" by 2" (plus neck) in size, it has a silvered copper neck and glass stopper. Its general appearance and pontil mark suggest its use in 1840. Equally appealing is a clear glass barrel-shaped figural reading "TIPPECANOE EXTRACT/HARD CIDER" on opposite sides (#9). This bottle may have been produced in 1840 also, but a very pronounced seam and the absence of a pontil mark (which may have been smoothed over to provide

a secure base) suggest that it may have been made in 1888, perhaps as a reminder of the second Harrison's relationship with "Old Tippecanoe."

Other such figurals include a clear glass dinner pail 4½" high made by the Albert Pick Company of Chicago for supporters of William McKinley (#10). It features a cap in the shape of a tiny cup and a raised design and inscription in gold gilt. An amber cigar figural, thought to have been associated with Vice President Thomas Marshall's famous dictum "What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar," cannot conclusively be linked to Marshall, but could be considered a political figural until we learn otherwise.

8



9



10



Items of Interest

Cox—Roosevelt Jugates by John Vargo

The jugate buttons for the 1920 Democratic candidacy of James Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt are among the rarest items in political collecting. Yet, there are eight known varieties, if different sizes are counted. This is the first time all of them have been pictured in one place.

Curiously enough, considering the varieties, less than sixty total Cox and Roosevelt jugate buttons are known in the hobby. The three 1 1/4" jugates are particularly scarce. Only one each is known of CRJ-1 and CRJ-3 and only three of CRJ-4. Only CRJ-7 has a slogan, "Americanize America," an unusual rallying cry for a candidate whose platform called for entry into the newly-formed League of Nations. The most "common" jugate is CRJ-2, of which approximately 25—35 are in members' collections.

For those items pictured in Ted Hake's *Political Buttons* volumes, the Hake numbers are noted. Since some jugates have never been pictured, APIC numbers have been assigned, under the designation CRJ. If you know of any other "hard" jugate items with photographic pictures which should be included, please contact the *Keynoter* Editor.



CRJ-1

CRJ-2
Cox-2009

CRJ-3

CRJ-4
Cox-2008CRJ-5
Cox-2010

CRJ-6

CRJ-7
Cox-2011CRJ-8
Cox-1

CRJ-9



CRJ-10

CRJ-11
Cox-2002

The Locals Report

"Stand Up For Alabama"

by Preston Malcom



1958



1962



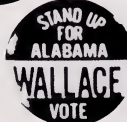
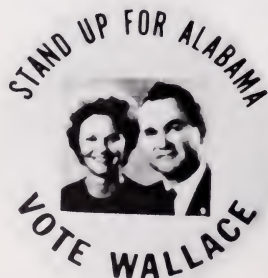
George Corley Wallace has dominated the politics of Alabama since 1958. His control of state politics has certainly been equaled elsewhere — Harry Byrd in Virginia and Eugene Talmadge in Georgia come to mind — but rarely has a politician's dominance in a single state led to such national importance. Wallace's odd blend of "stand up for the little fellow" and "segregation forever" kept him in the national spotlight for nearly a generation. In 1964 he stunned the experts with his impressive performance in several northern primaries. Four years later he captured thirteen percent of the vote running as an American Independent against Nixon and Humphrey. In 1972, despite being shot and paralyzed midway through the primaries, he won more votes in primaries than any other Democrat. Even in 1976 he was a factor before bowing out to support his fellow southerner Jimmy Carter. But Wallace's national prominence has always depended on the spotlight that Alabama has afforded him.

Alabama voters said "no" to Wallace only once, when he was defeated in the 1958 gubernatorial primary by John Patterson. "He out-niggered me," Wallace told friends, "and boys, I'm not going to be

out-niggered again." Wallace used only one button in 1958, a very scarce 1" lithograph "WIN WITH WALLACE" picture button.

Four years later Wallace captured the governorship, defeating state senator Ryan deGraffenried in a run-off by 70,000 votes. His inaugural manifesto "Segregation now; segregation tomorrow; segregation forever!" was dramatized in 1963 with his infamous "stand in the schoolhouse door" at the University of Alabama to keep blacks out. Although we now know that it was carefully staged with the cooperation of the Justice department, to millions the incident was seen as evidence that Wallace was going to "stand up" for white America. In 1962, only 2 Wallace buttons were produced, apparently made in limited numbers judging from their rarity, a 1" red/white/blue lithograph picture pin, and a 1" lithograph name pin, both reading "STAND UP FOR ALABAMA—WALLACE."

Prohibited by state law from succeeding himself in 1966, Wallace ran his wife Lurleen as his stand-in. She won easily, becoming the first woman to serve as Alabama's governor. The fact that she was to be governor in name only may be inferred from the several buttons the Wallace campaign used that year. Three 1" red/white/blue lithos merely read "WALLACE" with no first name; two of them also used George's now-famous slogan "STAND UP FOR ALABAMA." The 2 1/4" blue and white celluloid jugate portrayed both George and Lurleen, but his picture was noticeably larger. Even the scarce "ALABAMA'S OWN" Lurleen Wallace celluloid picture pin carried a plug for George's presidential ambitions. Three anti-Wallace buttons, including



1966



(3 1/2")

1970

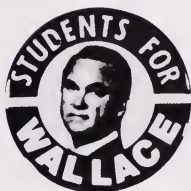


"I'M TOO OLD FOR A GOVERNESS," were issued in 1966 by the National Democratic Party of Alabama (not pictured).

Lurleen died of cancer before her term ended and was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Albert Brewer, who then developed a strong political base of his own and challenged George for the governorship in 1970. Wallace finished second in the Democratic primary but then defeated Brewer in a run-off. Many feel that Wallace had such a difficult time winning a second term because of his blatant presidential ambitions, his rather cynical use of his wife as a stand-in, and even speculation that he may have known that Lurleen was dying when he coaxed her into running. Three Wallace buttons appeared in 1970, the two "OUR KIND OF MAN" picture buttons and a 1 1/4" celluloid picture button reading "WALLACE for GOVERNOR 1970" that many of us fear may be a collector-produced fantasy button, as it is identical to a Ted Kennedy button also made in 1970.

After the 1972 presidential campaign and two years of attempting to recuperate from wounds that left him paralyzed, Wallace took advantage of a new state law that allowed a governor to succeed himself, easily defeating primary and general election

1974



opposition in 1974. Three 1 1/2" lithograph picture buttons, "WALLACE," "STUDENTS FOR WALLACE," and "YOU CAN COUNT ON WALLACE" were produced to use in the 1974 campaign and were all subsequently reissued in large quantities for use in presidential primaries in 1976.

In 1978 most Wallace-watchers assumed that he was a sure bet to become one of Alabama's new senators, but he chose not to run, either because he had no desire to go to Washington or because his health would not permit it. In any event, the possibility inspired both a pro-Wallace and an anti-Wallace Senate button. The 2 1/2" red/white/blue celluloid "VOTE WALLACE U.S. SENATE" was run in small quantities by supporters. An anti-Wallace button, "I'd vote for Cornelia but not George!" was issued at least a year before the 1978 election, following Senate feelers sent out by George's estranged second wife Cornelia. Not all Alabama collectors are convinced of this item's legitimacy.

The Fob James-George Wallace inaugural jugate may be the last Wallace item ever issued, as it would appear that his health will probably prevent him from running again. If so, it really is, as that button says, "GOODBYE GEORGE."



1978



1979



NEWS

APIC Statement Re: Political Collector

In response to several inquiries, President Bob Fratkin has issued the following statement:

There is no affiliation between the APIC and the privately-owned *Political Collector* monthly newspaper except an arrangement whereby the *Political Collector* has printed the APIC newsletter each month in exchange for the printing of a PC ad in each issue of the *Keynoter*.

The APIC is not responsible for ads appearing in the *Political Collector*, and makes no implied or express warranty that items advertised in the *Political Collector* are actual campaign-used materials, although it is presumed that items advertised by APIC members meet the standards established under the APIC Code of Ethics.

Publication Schedule Set for 1980 Keynoter

APIC *Keynoter* Editor Roger Fischer has announced the topics for the quarterly 1980 *Keynoters*, along with the deadline dates for submission of materials.

Spring: (February 1) William J. Bryan—The Free Silver Campaigns of 1896 and 1900. **Summer:** (April 15) Harry S Truman **Fall:** (July 15) Clay and Polk—The election of 1844 **Winter:** (October 15) Twenty Years After—The Election of 1960.

APIC 1980 Renewals Due

Enclosed with this issue of the *Keynoter* is your renewal form for 1980. Dues are unchanged at \$12.50, the lowest dues of any major hobby organization in the country. In addition, family members may now join APIC at a reduced rate of \$6.25. Family memberships will receive a copy of the 1980 Roster (and updates) and have full voting privileges, but will not receive the *Keynoter* or other publications. Full details on family memberships appeared in the fall issue of the *Keynoter*.

During 1979, members received four issues of the APIC *Keynoter* (previously the *Standard*)

and the new looseleaf roster. The organization held its National Convention in San Francisco, while chapters held regional meetings in nine states, and local meetings throughout the country. In addition, the specialty chapters continued to issue a steady stream of excellent publications and projects to their members. In 1980, with a presidential campaign in progress, even more APIC local and regional meetings will be held, including two regionals in states that have never had regional meetings before. Join us in making it a bigger and better APIC in 1980.

Consumer News: “Caveat Emptor”

Once again, the APIC reminds its members that sales lists of 1980 presidential campaign buttons being sent to your homes or advertised in hobby publications may have a large selection of 1980 buttons that never did and never will see the inside of a headquarters or be ordered by an official campaign organization. The APIC cannot tell each member what he or she should collect or reject, but we can offer information, as it comes to our attention, which may help you become a better informed consumer.

A number of our collectors have recently received a sales list from a “Campaign Button Co.” in California. This company also

advertises extensively in the *Political Collector* newspaper. In the past, and to the best of our knowledge at the present time, this company is owned by and/or affiliated with Richard Bristow, who was removed from the APIC over a decade ago for originating 1968 campaign buttons for sale predominantly or solely for the collector market.

The appearance of any buttons in the *Political Collector*’s “Project 80,” with which APIC has no connection, does not, apparently, bear a relationship to whether the items pictured were ever ordered by a legitimate campaign organization.

1980 Nominating Committee Selected

Pending approval of the APIC Executive Board, President Bob Fratkan has nominated the following five members for the APIC 1980 Nominating Committee: Jim Barnes (#1454, Washington, D.C.) as Chairman of the Committee, with Bonnie Gardner (#2466, Men-tone, Calif.), Steve Adams (#2265, Lincoln, R.I.), Otis Cox (#778, Anderson, Ind.) and Norman Loewenstern (#1773, Houston, Texas) as members of the Nominating Committee. Any APIC member who would like to have his or her name considered by the Committee should write to Jim Barnes, 3410 P Street N.W., Washington, D. C. 20007. Your attention is drawn to Article VIII, Section B of the APIC Constitution for further details on the nominating process.

APIC Project 1980 starts next issue.

For The Record



This item was identified in the Spring edition of the APIC *Standard* as being issued for Adlai Stevenson. Unfortunately, as Colorado collectors knew immediately, such was not the case. The "In Steve I Believe" button was used by Steve McNichols in his 1962 gubernatorial campaign, which he lost to Republican John Love. Mr. McNichols' brother, William, is now Mayor of Denver.

Two New Board Members Named

President Bob Fratkan announced that the Executive Board of the APIC has approved the nominations of Dr. Robin Powell of Wilmette, Illinois and John Vargo of Gaithersburg, Maryland to the APIC Board of Directors.

Q & A

by David J. Frent

- Q. Are backname buttons the rarest of all pre-'96 material?
- A. A backname is a shank button with the slogan or a candidate's name on the reverse and in most cases a plain obverse. There are only twelve varieties known including a one of a kind Monroe item, the others are for Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison and Clay. The foremost expert on shank buttons, Dewey Albert, con-

siders them among the rarest of all political memorabilia, to which I concur. However, making a statement that they are the rarest is impossible since there are many unique pieces in our hobby.

- Q. What does PTAP stand for on TR Bull Moose studs?
- A. This is a frequently asked question. The slogan "Purity Temperance Aid Progress" was used in conjunction with the Loyal Order of the Moose. Thereafter, the word Temperance was dropped resulting in the PAP also found on Moose studs. It is obvious that these items were made during the same period as the ones bearing the word Bullmoose and those without any reference. Therefore, it is possible that those made for fraternal use could have found their way into an order from a campaign headquarters.

Moving?

All change of address information should be sent to Joseph D. Hayes, Sec.-Treas., 1054 Sharpsburg Drive, Huntsville, AL 35803.



Featuring the APIC Monthly Newsletter

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Currier and Ives "Democratic Banner" Tinted Print